

# Social Questions

## BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Service (unofficial), an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks to replace it with social-economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinctions and privileges.

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### EXTEND DEMOCRACY!

The battles for peace with which this series has dealt lead to a general engagement between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction over the future of democracy. They are all parts of the bigger battle and merge into it. Inflation cannot be stopped, full employment cannot be secured, cartels cannot be destroyed, discrimination cannot be eliminated, unless democratic controls can be extended to the whole of our national economy in order to develop its full capacities for the benefit of all the people. Until all can have the opportunities that only a part of our people now enjoy there can be no just and durable peace. Unless that extension of democracy is now begun, on a worldwide as well as a national scale, history tells us that the formal terms of peace will once more be only the dragon's teeth from which future armies will arise.

It is because the democratic process is the way to a new world for the common people everywhere that the fascists of all sorts are trying to destroy it. They know that if the people get democratic power they will also get the intelligence and knowledge that will make it impossible for the few to rule and exploit them. So all who stand to lose by the extension of democracy—corrupt politicians, gangsters of the underworld, ne'er-do-wells of luxury, misfits of the dog-eat-dog struggle, princes of the church who seek selfish rule in the name of God—join the predatory rich in trying to halt the advance of democracy.

#### DEFENSE IS NOT ENOUGH

What happened in North Africa, what is happening in Italy, make it clear enough that the anti-democratic coalition cannot be stopped by military victory. The Axis leaders know they cannot win the war. They are counting on the cooperation of the anti-democratic forces in the capitalist democracies to help them back to power in the post-war world. On this hemisphere they expect to work in and through Latin America. Our internal political struggle gives them hope. As soon as the sun of victory appeared over the horizon our anti-democratic forces took the offensive against all recent democratic gains. They renewed their attacks on labor and Negro rights, on food subsidies and price controls, on democratic post-war planning, on T.V.A.; they moved in the direction of an imperialist peace.

Check the points at which the issue of the extension or limiting of democracy is at stake and our potential fascists will appear before you. Note who was against the soldier vote, and for the poll tax; who opposed a United Front government for Italy and want the Polish imperialists and landlords to get back their dominion

over peasants of other nationalities and you will see our anti-democratic leaders. We can destroy the Axis armies and navies, execute the war criminals who are guilty of the greatest atrocities the world has seen, and smash their organization, but they will emerge again unless we root out the fascist tendencies in our midst. If that is not done the greatest destruction in history will have been for naught, the largest amount of heroism on record will have been in vain.

Fascism cannot be stopped here by a defensive war any more than it could abroad. To try and build a Maginot line around democratic rights now that the enemy has launched the attack is to play into his hands. The fascists are trying to keep democracy from developing and the only way they can be defeated is by doing what they are trying to prevent, extending democracy until the people get such power and knowledge that no fascists can ever again beguile them into subjection and slaughter.

Disgusted by what goes on at Washington, some people are wondering whether democracy is the best system for us. The answer is that our troubles come from the fact that we haven't had enough democracy. Except in the Poll Tax states the people have equal rights to vote, but nowhere have they yet equal economic security. For lack of this many have sold their vote for a day's wage and many more for the wild promises of fascist-minded office seekers. What we need is more democracy, not less. We can't get out of our difficulties by going backward. The right road runs the other way. What we are suffering from is the dictatorship of an anti-democratic economy, operating through politicians to prevent us from winning full employment, an economy of abundance and equal opportunities for all. The Atlantic Charter pointed the way when it added to our accepted freedoms two new ones—freedom from fear and freedom from want. That means the economic security which most of our people have never had, and cannot have until we get an economy run by all for all, in place of one run by the labor and knowledge of the many for the power and luxury of the few.

Why do we have to fight a long political battle to win the elementary right to vote for six million whites and four million Negroes in eight Southern states? That is like fighting to win back occupied territory from the enemy. That done the people then need the means to use effectively the right restored to them. That requires the extension of democracy to the provision of economic opportunity for all, and the education whose lack many people use to justify to themselves the denial of the vote. *The abolition of the poll tax is the defensive prelude to the opening of a broad democratic offensive throughout the land.*



### WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

An essential preparation for that offensive is the understanding of what democracy is. To many it means our present form of government which they consider to be the perfect work of man. So they are easily misled by Martin Dies and those behind him when he shouts that all attempts at change, even when they propose more democracy, are subversive. So while they applaud the right of other peoples to choose their own form of government they really want them to choose our form, and can be aroused to antagonism against a nation which prefers another kind of democratic control.

Our reactionaries like to say that we are a representative republic, not a democracy. That means that, like Hitler, they want the elite to rule; they do not want the people to govern themselves. They do not believe in Lincoln's immortal statement of democracy as "government of the people, by the people, for the people." Government through freely elected representatives is but one of the parts of this process. In many ways the people are learning to directly govern their common undertakings. If they do not, their representatives and officeholders will indeed become the masters instead of the servants of those who put them where they are.

We need to remember that the use of democratic forms to protect things as they are has put the world where it now is. That is the way the Germans got Hitler and gave him to the world. Yet some of our people still want to use democratic forms in Europe to protect vested interests. When Russia was trying under Kerensky to be a capitalist democracy, all our diplomats who successively handled the Baltic States question said their future was in being part of a federated Russia. When Russia went socialist under communist leadership we changed our position and in due time the Baltic States got fascist control under democratic forms. Now they have voted by overwhelming majorities to go into the Soviet Union and have been received as autonomous republics. Yet many here who profess to believe in democracy want to get them out and return them to the control of those who know how to use democratic forms to get anti-democratic results.

Democracy is not merely the right of the people to choose their government, to have freedom of speech, press, meeting and organization. These are the instruments by whose use the people become increasingly able to govern themselves in every aspect of their common life. Through these they can change their form of government when it no longer meets their needs. Our Declaration of Independence told the world that this is the basic democratic right which cannot be taken away from the people. Modern democratic government began with the people taking the power to govern away from their rulers. It continues as the organization of the people to govern themselves. *The extension of democracy is the increase of the people's power to control together every part of their common life. It is the way to progressively change life for the better, the way to the continuous improvement of the nature and life of man which religion declares to be the goal of living.*

### A DEMOCRATIC ECONOMY

It is commonly said today that if we are to save our political democracy it must be extended to our economic affairs. That necessity comes from the fact that our

house is now divided against itself. Since monopoly became strong in our business life the autocratic economic power it organizes continually encroaches on the democratic political power of the people. It supports the political machines, the bosses, the lobbies that subvert our democracy. It helped the rise of fascism in Europe and has taken its leaders into partnership. Most of the little German men were completely fooled. They thought they were going to get back their economic freedom from the vested interests. Instead they lost all their freedoms and were led into the bloodiest war of aggression in history. Can Americans also be deceived by the "free enterprise" propaganda behind which our economic autocracy hopes to restore and extend its sway?

The only way to prevent our economic autocrats from destroying the people's political power is to take their economic sovereignty away from them and extend the people's democratic power over our economic affairs. This does not at present mean that full economic democracy for which Americans are technically but not psychologically ready. It does mean the maintenance, the extension, and the fuller democratization of the kind of economic controls we have found necessary for the winning of the war. This is the necessary road to the winning of the peace. To win the war the peoples' power had to be supreme over the capitalists' economic power in labor relations, the provision and use of capital and raw materials, the supplying of consumers' needs. With much more delay, profit, and waste than was necessary, because full democratic planning and control was resisted, we have done a better economic job than we ever did in peace time. *We now have bigger needs ahead of us to be met. We need more economic democracy not less.*

The reactionary section of Big Business, leading those of the smaller men who are confused by wartime restrictions, is calling for the return of free enterprise. Most of the politicians are singing the chorus for which this kind of business calls the tune. Its leaders know that the enormous job of post-war reconstruction requires government aid. They want the help, without the controls that have been essential to wartime success. They want the government to get out of business, but they still want to use the people's capital and credit as they have long used its aid in tariffs, subsidies and contracts. They want all this and heaven too. What their cartel partners got in Europe by using Hitler they hope to get here at a lower price by deceiving the people through propaganda, and using their elected representatives. This is the forming pattern of American fascism, seen in the Congressional coalition of Northern reactionaries and Southern poll-taxers representing the same economic interests.

The immediate objective for economic democracy is democratic control of the key points in the economic process from raw materials to the consumer. It means the limitation of profit at least to the extent of abolishing slums — city and rural, and giving to the nation the healthy and educated citizenship without which it cannot remain free and successively meet the challenge of the future. The ground for this advance has been laid in part by our social security legislation, in part by the cooperative movement, and more by workers gaining the legal right to share in making the terms of employment through representatives of their own choosing. For this many in the labor movement literally gave their lives as others before them fought to the death to secure the



political freedom we now enjoy. But collective bargaining, consumers and producers cooperatives, social security legislation, are only first steps in economic democracy, ineffective if others are not taken.

It is time now to extend democratic power to other points in the economic process which are still considered the exclusive domain of owners and managers. *Over and over our Church statements have affirmed that the development of persons, not profit, is properly the first aim of the economic process. It is time now to act upon that, to turn principle into practice.* The need is compelling, the opportunity is here. The keynote of the recent twenty-sixth conference of the International Labor Organization, branch of the League of Nations, was: "Economic policy must be the tool to achieve a better and more useful life for all."

### MORE WORK AHEAD

Many people oppose the extension of democracy to our economic affairs on the ground that it means more bureaucracy. Of course bureaucracy is a continual danger in any big organization, religious, political, or economic. There is plenty of it in Big Business, says Knudsen of General Motors, "Only we call it system." But it can be overcome. The planning and joint action that the machine age requires do not have to be done by financiers and their lawyers, nor by political bureaucrats. It can be done by the people acting together. Many of our public undertakings, the cooperative movement, the progressive labor unions, the economic story of the Soviet Union, all demonstrate this. *Economic democracy is the people doing things together in a team moving toward a chosen goal.* We are learning how to do things that way.

We now have planning committees of grass root farmers which the big farm organizations that the farm bloc speaks and acts for don't like. The Department of Agriculture set them up after it learned that the nation couldn't be fed and its soil conserved by planning from the top down. Nelson of WPB has just organized an advisory commission on reconversion on which all groups interested in that vital transfer of industry from war to peace production are asked to serve. It needs to be given administrative power. The feeding of the post-war world has been planned by a Commission representing all those who take part in this process—farmers, scientists, labor, consumers, administrators, business. *Extend this method to the handling of the basic metals and chemicals on which war and peace depend, to oil, aviation and shipping, and we have the constructive, democratic substitute for cartels.*

The necessity of extending democracy to our economic affairs is also the necessity of making our politics more democratic. The concentration of economic power in the hands of those who control our great corporations has been accompanied by more tightly controlled political machines. To offset this threat to democracy the people have sought to make their political control more direct and effective. Universal suffrage, primaries, the initiative, referendum and recall, public opinion polls, letters, telegrams and petitions to legislators and executives—all these extend the participation of the people directly in their government. Now the Community Councils, initiated by the CIO, are getting people who never did such a thing before to go round ringing doorbells telling their neighbors how to help the soldiers vote under laws designed to keep as many of them as possible from voting.

Out of all these experiences the American people will surely find easier ways to express themselves directly in the economic controls in accord with which political government is always fashioned.

The extension of democratic action to our economic affairs which the war has speeded up means that our democracy is becoming socialized. It is now something more than freedom and rights for the individual. It is social action to develop the community in order that all individuals may be further developed. The war has driven home the truth that rights depend upon duties, that unless the community is protected by the individual it cannot protect the individual. We had begun to learn this self-evident truth before the war by a growing understanding of what the under-fed, under-educated, badly housed section of our population meant to our national well-being and future. The illiterates, incompetents and 4Fs not wanted by the Army menace our democratic development. They challenge us to give every child equal opportunities for the development of all capacities and their use for the benefit of the community, to make it the national code that every person shall live for the community in order to fully find himself. *Without these social ends democracy has no meaning. Without economic democracy these ends cannot be attained.*

It is only through this fullest extension of democracy that religion can come into its own. When democracy seeks the fullest development for all, when it gives equal rights and opportunities to all and special privileges to none, when it is a working brotherhood, when it requires sharing and serving as the way of life, then it is indeed the instrument for the continuous realization of the religious ideal in human living. *The experience of developing this process is itself a religious experience.*

### POINTS OF DECISION

The extension of democracy is now before us for action at two main points, the reconversion of our economy from war to peacetime needs and the international economic arrangements upon which our national security and progress depend. The decision we have to make is whether our national economy and its international relations are to be administered by and for Big Business, or by and for the people through planning and administrative commissions composed of representatives of all the groups which participate in the economic process.

This series has brought you an analysis of six battles that are now, alongside the battles overseas, deciding the future of this nation and the world. At each point where they show you the democratic and anti-democratic forces contending for control of the future they confront you with the question—on which side are you?

*For Inflation or Price Control?*

*For Full Employment or Unemployment and Bankruptcies?*

*For "Free Enterprise" or Peoples' Planning and Action?  
For Cartels or Democratic International Economic Agreements?*

*For Discrimination or Equal Rights and Opportunities for All?*

*For Extension of Democracy or Fascism?*

One more question.

If you are on the side of the people's needs and the development of democracy *what are you going to do about it?*



## FUTURE OF THE FEDERATION

(The following thorough analysis of the replies to the Referendum should command earnest study on the part of all Federation members. It ploughs deep and admirably supplements the Analysis and Report of the Ad Interim Committee. Correspondence on the statement is invited. — W. C. B.)

There appears to be agreement among Federation members that Methodist social action needs to move forward along two fronts (cf. Barclay, Bollinger, and others):

(1) A Commission on Social Action, authorized by the General Conference. This could prepare general materials and provide a broad educational program of social education now lacking. Also it would give coherence to sporadic crusades on various causes, and eventually tie together the present autonomous agencies — the World Peace Commission (Braun and others); the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals; which should be related to a broader approach; and Annual Conference Commissions. This comprehensive organization would be capable also of working with the Federal Council and other interdenominational groups, and of systematically supplying articles to the denominational press and study materials for curriculum use.

However, those who in their replies proposed such an organization as an *alternative* to the unofficial organization are mistaken at two points: First, as to method of authorization of an official Commission. It is only when, through thorough preparation and planning, there has been created an organized block pressing for its creation by General Conference, that an official Commission will be authorized. With the present state of fragmentation in the liberal forces, it is likely to take at least two quadrenniums of cultivation to bring this to pass.

(2) An unofficial voluntary independent organization for more radical analysis and action than would be possible by an official organization (Cormack and others) is at least equally necessary. This is the "advance guard" (Murray) which in the past the MFSS has been, and which in any case must continue for types of service it alone can render, to prepare the way for an official commission and later to prevent the official organization from merely marking time or from falling asleep. (I do not believe that anyone familiar with the experience of the National Council of Methodist Youth can help but feel real sorrow that the vitality of an unofficial fellowship was not maintained at the same time that the official program was provided. Judging by some evidences an adult-controlled and "safe" program is already accomplished.) Those who would put their trust entirely in an official agency are therefore mistaken as to the present possibility and also as to future developments. (vs. Heist, Burt, and others). The lines of economic interest cross the church, and though the unofficial agency should in the future display a larger measure of church-centered statesmanship than in the recent past, yet this is a fact not to be forgotten. Finally, the unofficial agency can cooperate with what Paul Tillich calls "the latent church" (labor and farm leaders, cooperative and consumer organizers, etc. and their idealism) in a way not feasible to an official agency.

The achievement of an official Commission, and a strengthening of the unofficial arm on the other, is a two-sided purpose which requires the maintenance of all present strength and the gathering together of all the working forces that can be recruited. An abandonment of the existing organization, even with the speculative projection of a more elaborate program under some future General Conference authorization would leave the liberals and radicals of Methodism to disgraceful and futile isolation.

### FRAGMENTATION OF THE "LEFT"

The number of persons responding to the first poll (only 15.5% of those contributing in the last two years — a selected group) indicates the fragmentation of liberal and radical opinion in the Methodist Church. (I recall the shock caused by Secretary Webber's report at the 1943 Cleveland meeting on 1800 loss in membership in one year!) This may be in large part due to the general division in the "Left" in America on the war, in which for several years the leadership of the Federation has pursued a political line to which many of the members were unsympathetic (cf. Hall). In some Annual Conference groups the FOR holds the center of attention in a way once commanded by the MFSS. It is also due in a measure to the fact that the war has brought various functional issues to the fore, which seem to be better met by voluntary association in a single issue (Toothaker). Perhaps a measure of health is indicated by the development of local programs in recent

years, a trend in action (as in theology) against "speaking to the world as though it were the Church". We have not depended enough on the techniques of intensive local and regional work. Unless there are loyal and trained local church groups, the broad program must be criticized as ineffective "moralism". We have a right to expect a higher ethic within the Church than we see in the world, and this inspires also a healthy concern for the economic ethic of the Church itself as a social institution (Conover, pt. 4). We cannot speak clearly to the world on any issue until we have developed an internal discipline (by "sense of the meeting" and legislation). For example, an anti-liquor drive on the political front lacks integrity when the Church has previously refused to make it a Disciplinary offense to hold property on which liquor is sold. But we cannot be content with a particular ethic for the Church, either local or within the whole body; there is a Commission to "teach all peoples" as well. And any social view will falter if it depends only upon local spontaneity; there must be a common ideology and common platform. This is already among us in part, but it must be worked through by local and Annual Conference groups, and pounded out on the anvil of our common problems; above all, we must begin where we are (Trott) and work first with those who have loyally held by. Our ranks will swell again as a clarified ideology and program wins support.

### THE PROGRAM NEEDED

This ideology and program can gain clarity and coherence by a three-fold attack:

(1) for the gathering of a trained and active "vanguard" within the church;

(2) for the development of a strong ethic on intra-church problems;

(3) for the continuance of general proclamation and action in society as a whole.

We must recognize that training a "vanguard" will continue to be the function that can only be exercised by the unofficial fellowship. It is probable also that no official agency will wrestle very strongly for a strengthened discipline within the Church. And in the field of social action the free fellowship will continue to function with a flexibility not possible to the projected official organization, whose future concern may be largely proclamation of general ideals and the supplying of literature of a broad scope.

The quality of the vanguard will be determined by future events, but here the experience of groups such as the Greenfield Fellowship, the Christian Social Action Conference, the Brotherhood of the Imitation, the Brotherhood of the Kingdom (Walter Rauschenbusch) will be useful. A special effort should be made to enlist men in the theological schools to study and experimentation along the lines indicated by the American Friends Service Committee (Clay), CDLS, and "the Brothers Ten".

The development of a strong intra-church ethic continues and broadens the Federation's past concern for labor conditions in publishing houses. It will give us a fighting issue to rally latent support to the Federation banner, as the investigation of the Steel Strike gave great impetus years ago. Further, it is questionable whether a body can speak with integrity and good conscience to the world on social and economic issues without effecting an internal discipline of concern.

A strong program of social legislation (Waltmire) may continue as part of the general policy of the Federation, complementing its educational program. But when we come to the question of bringing such legislation to pass our present shattered condition confronts us. The painful probability is that the shaping of the peace will be little affected by religious groups, not because they are not interested but because those groups in the churches capable of effective pressures have little coherence or striking power.

We come again, then, to the question of an immediate organizational plan which will lead us out of the desert. The specific implementation of program may well emerge out of local group discussion; an effective group conference; and an enlarged Executive Committee functioning more democratically than in the past.

### FORM OF ORGANIZATION

In the immediate future a plan of operation is necessary which will give strength to the present membership and move forward toward both the creation of an official Commission and the maximum effectiveness of our unofficial fellowship.



## FUTURE OF THE FEDERATION (continued)

The suggestion to fortify interdenominational work has merit (King), but I question whether that means much until some group can actually speak for the Methodist constituency. "Interdenominational" cooperation without roots in the local church and at functional levels of Annual Conference will speedily become vaguely non-denominational. Our strength at present lies where Social Action groups have continued in the various Conferences, and the effort should be made to give them the fullest cooperation (Baker, White). Further, materials should be prepared for Social Action "cells" in the local churches; here lay, youth, and rural interests will find natural expression. (The Malvern Conference rightly recommended intensive work at this level. The Conference of Southern Mountain Workers and others have good experience and material to share.) An immediate financial campaign for supporting subscriptions will be necessary, but in the long pull the financial system should be built on such local "cells" and their delegated bodies meeting at the Annual Conference level. (This marks one of the chief differences between a purely educational association and a fellowship or brotherhood or union.) A magazine or paper should be published of general interest, with a subscription list like that of the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN. In addition for active members mimeographed bulletins should discuss in frank detail the problems encountered.

Above all, the program for the quadrennium should be planned in terms of cash on hand and pledges made. It is true that a striking new departure will raise a good deal of money otherwise not available; but it is better to work carefully with resources at hand than to launch a program immediately which will fail for lack of funds. The amount paid the personnel should be on a parallel level; many able "cause-workers" have in the past been *lost to the church not because wage was inadequate but because the demand for sacrifice was not urgent enough*. The amount paid personnel can be expanded with the budget.

The Executive Secretary should be a man whose ability and training would command respect throughout the Church; possibly a young man not now widely known who would grow into the program (cf. Powell), but with sound academic equipment and some organizational experience. — FRANKLIN H. LITTELL.

### ANNUAL MEETING REPORT

After hearing brief reports from the President, the Secretary, and the Treasurer, the members of the Methodist Federation for Social Service present at the 1944 Annual meeting at Kansas City voted unanimous agreement with the action of the Executive Committee in recommending continuance of the organization. While the discussion emphasized the need for an official social action commission, or board department, supported by World Service funds, it also stressed agreement with the conviction of the Executive Committee in its insistence on the maintenance of an unofficial, independent organization. They also urged that the *Ad Interim Committee* conduct a vigorous campaign for funds to make a broad program of social action possible during the quadrennium.

The meeting of the Federation was held on the afternoon of May 2, with Bishop F. J. McConnell, president, in the chair. Forty members in attendance upon General Conference were present. The report of the *Ad Interim Committee*, published in the April issue of the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN was reviewed in detail. Some of those present who had not replied to the questionnaire made use of the opportunity to voice their convictions in discussion. Members were of one mind as regards the importance of the work of the Federation, and its possible service to the Church and to society. There was unanimity of judgment that this is no time to let down in the matter of aggressive Christian social action.

A proposal was supported urging the *Ad Interim Committee* to appeal to the strong Annual Conferences of the Church to accept quotas of \$500 each, and smaller Conferences less amounts, in voluntary contributions to underwrite an adequate quadrennial budget for the Federation. A goodly proportion of those present agreed to head movements in their respective Conferences to secure subscriptions.

Because of limitation of time the session was hurried. Several important actions, however, were taken. An Executive Committee was elected, including several new members, with authority to add five additional adult members, five youth members to be nominated by the National Conference of the Methodist Youth Fellowship, and to elect the officers of the Federation.

Deep appreciation was expressed, both in personal statements by members, and in formal resolution, for the courageous, prophetic leadership through the past years of the retiring officers — Bishop F. J. McConnell, President; Dr. Harry F. Ward, Secretary; and Charles C. Webber, Executive Secretary. Speaking from the floor, several members declared that if the younger members of the Federation in sincerity honor the leadership of the long-time officers, they will see to it that the movement which has had such wide influence in the past is carried forward with new vigor in the difficult days ahead.

### NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee of the Federation, as elected at the Kansas City meeting consists of the following persons:

Lester W. Auman	L. O. Hartman	Miriam Ristine
James C. Baker	David D. Jones	C. E. Schofield
Wade Crawford Barclay	John C. Lazenby	Chester A. Smith
Mary McLeod Bethune	Franklin H. Littell	Thelma Stevens
Wilson G. Cole	Stanley S. McKee	Ralph B. Urmy
Gilbert S. Cox	George L. Poor	Edgar M. Wahlberg
Margaret Forsyth	H. M. Ratliff	Wayne White
Owen M. Geer	Lloyd H. Rising	Ruth F. Wolcott
Corliss P. Hargraves		

Five additional adult members and five youth members to be elected to membership by the Committee.

### FINANCIAL REPORT

A summary of the financial report of the treasurer, Gilbert Q. LeSourd, presented at the annual meeting is as follows:

For the fiscal year Oct. 1, 1942 — Sept. 30, 1943

Balance on hand Oct. 1, 1942	\$ 119.88
Receipts, twelve months	4986.57
Total	5106.45
Expenditures, twelve months	3610.37

Balance on hand Oct. 1, 1943	\$1496.08
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Outstanding obligations unpaid at the end of the fiscal year amounted to approximately \$500.

For the seven months, Oct., 1943 — Apr. 30, 1944

Balance on hand Oct. 1, 1943	\$1496.08
Receipts	2930.11
Total	4426.19
Expenditures	3490.15
Balance on hand May 1, 1944	\$ 936.04

Receipts for the seven-month period included annual dues and contributions from 756 members and a gift of \$500. from a foundation interested in the work of the Federation. Printing and mailing of the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN, four-page issue, costs approximately \$100 per month. Office rent is \$25. per month. On May 1, 1944, all current bills were paid to date and there were no outstanding obligations of any nature. It should be noted, however, that from Dec. 15, 1943 — Apr. 30, 1944, the Federation was without an Executive Secretary and, because of this, expenditures included no payments on account of Executive Secretary's salary.

### REPORT OF SECRETARY

#### To National Meeting at Kansas City

For several years my responsibility in the Federation has been necessarily limited to speaking, writing, participation in the making of policy, and counsel concerning its execution when requested.

In the fall of 1943 I agreed to accept responsibility for the first three pages of the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN and for relations with the United Christian Council for Democracy. These relations have been concerned mostly with the joint plan for preparation and use



of the "Six Battles for Peace" leaflets. Our assumption of the first printing cost through our initial use of the material in the Social Questions Bulletin made the plan financially possible.

The circulation of the series has averaged 13,000. The monthly orders of denominational groups under their own imprint have been: Methodist 2000 (in addition to 4000 Bulletins), Episcopal 2000, Presbyterian 1200, Unitarian 500, Baptist 500, Evangelical and Reformed 300. The remainder has been sales from the UCCD office, with some denominational re-orders. The influence of the leaflets to date has been much larger than the circulation on account of the publicity they have received, and reprinting, particularly in the labor and cooperative press. It is significant that the metropolitan press, with few exceptions, has paid no attention to the series and other releases, whereas a few years ago they gave us good space. This indicates the extent of its interest in election year in securing the halting and cancelling of the social advance that has been made in the last ten years.

We have further cooperated with the UCCD in holding a Regional Conference in New York, March 13-14. Leading members in the Conferences adjacent to New York actively promoted this gathering.

In considering the future of the Federation it should be remembered that the inter-denominational group looks to us, in the language of its Secretary, in a recent statement, as the "spearhead of the movement." This is because of our size, the length of our experience, and the definiteness of our objectives.

Concerning the future of the work as indicated by the referendum returns I would emphasize the necessity of volunteer direction of some sections, and more initiative in, and responsibility for, local social action by Annual Conference and city groups of members, and by the formation in rural districts of groups of those within car and phone reach of each other. It is also clear that we have not begun to realize the possibilities of membership and action by our Methodist youth and women.

One of the first steps in realizing these possibilities is the restoration of the mid-month number of the Bulletin, devoted to action and made up almost entirely of the experiences, and views, and questions, of members all over the land. It is apparent that anti-democratic reaction, with its attempted fascist control, has not yet reached the peak of its capacities. When it does all that we work and hope for will be at stake. The prospect requires a stronger and more general effort than we have yet developed. The base for it exists in our Church and in the assets of the movement. Let me add in closing my final report that if at any time there is a contribution I can make by speaking or writing I shall, as in the past, always count it a privilege. — HARRY F. WARD.

### FINANCIAL CANVASS UNDER WAY

With the authorization of the Executive Committee and of the Annual Meeting, the *Ad Interim Committee* on June 1 began an active canvass for an underwriting for the quadrennium of a minimum annual budget of \$10,000. This is in accord with Plan No. Three of the committee report. (See April SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN).

What the program of the Federation shall be; who shall be secretary (or secretaries) — indeed, whether the Federation shall continue at all — depends on the outcome of the canvass. It is conceivable that the Federation could continue on a minimum basis of \$4000. (See Plan One, and suggestions of Rufus C. Baker, Leonard A. Stidley, Carl Wesley Gamer, Joseph M. Cormack, and others, April BULLETIN). But the *Ad Interim Committee* does not believe that such a minimum plan would do credit to the Methodist Church or that it would represent the possibilities of support of an aggressive, effective, voluntary social action commission.

Attention is called to the fact that the present list of members is sufficient to provide a budget of \$10,000 per year if they will double their annual pledge. Surely many who have been contributing \$10 per year can give \$20; many \$5. subscribers can increase to \$10.; very many \$2. contributors increase to \$5., and \$1. givers to \$2. And in addition it should be possible easily to double the number of members of the organization. (See statement of Paul G. Hayes, Paul DuBois, and others, April BULLETIN).

The Conference quota plan (cf. Louis Ortmayer, April BULLETIN), was stressed at the Kansas City meeting as the most practical method of procedure. It is being used, as also other methods of membership promotion. The help of every concerned member of the Federation is needed. If we all pull together the

goal can be reached within a reasonable time. The Executive Committee can then go forward with its work of organization and program development.

### NEW ENGLAND CONFERENCE POINTS THE WAY

Following the lead suggested by Louis Ortmayer, Montana (see BULLETIN, April, p. 5), reiterated by several members in the Kansas City meeting, the *Ad Interim Committee* has asked membership groups in several of the larger Annual Conferences meeting during May and June to accept responsibility for annual quotas of \$500. each for the quadrennium. New England Conference is the first to take effective action. At a largely attended Federation dinner, following a challenging address by Dr. L. O. Hartman, the \$500. quota was accepted and plans were formulated for getting it immediately underwritten. Under the leadership of Arthur Hopkinson, pastor of First Church, Lynn, Mass., ten men have assumed responsibility of securing pledges to the amount of \$50. each. *This is precisely the way it can be done.* Not every Conference should be asked to underwrite a quota of \$500. Some of the smaller Conferences will do well if they come forward with subscriptions of half that amount, or even less. But as was said in the Kansas City meeting there are surely twenty Conferences that will accept quotas of \$500. When this has been done the reorganization of the Federation can be accomplished and a significant social action program again inaugurated in the Methodist Church.

### BEG PARDON!

A referendum letter sent by the *Ad Interim Committee* under date of May 31 to a large number of Federation members who had not replied to the first Questionnaire referred to the General Conference as having taken the following action: "The Council of Bishops is requested to appoint a Commission in the field of Social Action and Industrial Relations, for the purpose of implementing our Social Creed and of cooperating with the Boards and Commissions affected. . . ." This was a mistake.

The statement was based on Calendar No. 152 as printed in the DAILY CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE of Friday, May 5, and the further record in the ADVOCATE of Monday, May 8: "With a typographical correction, changing the word 'Board' to 'Boards', Calendar Report No. 152 . . . was adopted."

THE DAILY ADVOCATE statement in both places was in error. The resolution as printed should have read: "The Council of Bishops is requested to appoint a Committee to inquire into the advisability of creating a Commission in the field of Social Action and Industrial Relations for the purpose of implementing our Social Creed and of cooperating with the Boards and Commissions affected."

This is the resolution that was presented at General Conference and adopted by the Conference. An action wholly different in effect.

### DOES THIS ANALYSIS APPLY?

Supplement No. 206 to THE CHRISTIAN NEWS-LETTER (London) bears the title "Theological and Lay Responsibility". Written by a young minister from New Zealand, the supplement raises the question of "the relevance of Christian teaching to life as it has to be lived in the dust and heat of the conflicts of modern society." A significant paragraph analyzes the Church-labor situation in Great Britain in these words:

"Presbyterianism in Scotland and evangelicalism in England had a considerable hold among working-men even until a generation ago. That hold is slipping now, and this changing relation between the artisan and the Church has been analysed from more than one point of view in the NEWS-LETTER. It has a variety of causes, but part of the reason why artisans are progressively absent from church congregations and church assemblies, so I believe, lies in an essential integrity which will not allow them to profess on Sundays a standard of fraternity and of service to God which appears to bear no relation to the demands which competitive industry makes on them on Mondays. Such men fought one another and the boss for a living in the depression years, were saved from unemployment only to make war, and are fearful that the end of the war will bring the cut-throat struggle back again, with each man's hand against his neighbour and the scales heavily weighted against them all. For many of them, when their memory is not of unemployment during these last two decades, it is of work without social purpose, shoddy work under bad conditions, work for the enrichment of a few, work which must be made to last as long as possible, since the completion of the job means unemployment once again.



Subject to these pressures, and with no way out while livelihood for themselves and their dependents depends on their keeping up the fight, they cannot translate the Sunday sermon into terms of week-day obedience — for how can a man bring 'religion' into this kind of 'life'? — and it is in part a kind of dogged if inarticulate integrity that makes them stay away from church."

To what extent does this analysis apply to U. S. A.? Have members of labor unions in recent years been "progressively absent from [Methodist] church congregations and church assemblies"? Or, is their attendance increasing? *If the former, why?* If this analysis is applicable to our situation — and this writer for one believes that it is, the Methodist Federation for Social Service should become the rallying-center of a new crusade of social evangelism. With a militant membership of ten thousand pastors, lay men, and lay women — that we can have if we resolutely set ourselves to the task — much could be done to change the existing picture. — W. C. B.

### PRESBYTERIANS IN SOCIAL ACTION

Responsibility for social education and action in the Presbyterian Church has been assigned by the General Assembly to the Department of Social Education and Action, created by its special action in 1936. It is a department of the Board of Christian Education, and is under its administrative direction. In order that it may be widely representative of the Church, the Committee under whose immediate direction the department works includes representatives of the Board of Christian Education, the Board of National Missions, and the Church at large. The latter group of nine constitutes half of the Committee and represents labor and management, agriculture, education, ministers, women, and other lay groups in the Church.

The activities of the department are broadly of four different kinds:

1. *Informing the Church* through the integration of social education into the ongoing educational program of the Church and through special study groups and programs in organizations of men, women, and young people.
2. *Promotion of local activities.* — During the coming church year these will center around (1) World Order — a continuing concern; (2) Political Action — of particular importance in this election year; (3) Race and Group Conflict — special emphasis on group action toward better understanding and prevention of overt conflict; (4) Wartime Community needs and problems — emphasizing child care and youth-serving projects; (5) Organized Labor — emphasized by the address of Alfred Hoffman before the General Assembly May, 1943, on "Organized Labor and the Church."
3. *Training leaders.* — This is a major activity of the department. It is accomplished through: (1) the field organization of Presbytery and Synod Chairmen of Social Education and Action throughout the Church to whom a monthly bulletin and packet of relevant materials are sent; (2) through conferences with leaders of young people and adults in the church and community; (3) through summer work camps carried on in cooperation with the Department of Young People's Work and through close cooperation with the organized women's groups throughout the Churches. (4) Through provision of study and informational materials and promotional plans and programs.
4. *Publication.* — Through the monthly magazine, "SOCIAL PROGRESS," sent to all active ministers of the Church and to lay leaders, constant contact is maintained with the Church at large. A growing number of subscriptions are being sent, also, to the men and women in the armed forces. — ELSIE G. ROGERS, Associate Director.

### ON THE CHURCH AND LABOR FRONT

"ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE CHURCH". — An excellent pamphlet on this subject has been published by the Department of Social Education and Action, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

Alfred Hoffman, a Presbyterian layman, First Vice-President of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, a C.I.O. Union, delivered an address at the 1943 General Assembly that made a deep impression. To cooperate with a movement which vitally affects the welfare of many millions of American citizens, he declared, is not less than a major responsibility of the Church. The bitter struggle of labor to organize and to bargain collectively, which is still going on, might be greatly mitigated if it were generally under-

stood that the Churches are earnestly concerned that this elementary right shall be recognized. The address has been published in pamphlet form and may be obtained at 15 cents per copy from the Department of Social Education and Action, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia.

**BISHOPS' PROGRAM OF SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION.** — At a recent conference on Industrial Problems, held under Catholic auspices, John A. Ryan set forth as follows the basic measures for which the Catholic Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction stands: "(1) Minimum wage legislation; (2) insurance against unemployment, sickness, invalidity, and old age; (3) a 16-year minimum age limit for working children; (4) the legal enforcement of the right of labor to organize; (5) continuation of the National War Labor Board; (6) a national employment service; (7) public housing for the working classes; (8) no general reduction of wartime wages and a long-distance program for increasing them, not only for the benefit of labor, but in order to bring about general prosperity through a wide distribution of purchasing power among the masses; (9) prevention of excessive profits and incomes through a regulation of rates which would allow the owners of public utilities only a fair rate of return on their actual investment, and through progressive taxes on inheritance, incomes, and excess profits; (10) effective control of monopolies; even through government competition if that should prove necessary; (11) participation of labor in management and a wider distribution of ownership."

**RELIGION AND LABOR CONFERENCE.** — An important international conference has been called by the National Religion and Labor Foundation to be held in Pittsburgh, October 10-11. The theme of the conference is "The Right to a Job". The program will center in the following issues: (1) full employment; (2) full production; (3) guaranteed annual wage; (4) end race discrimination; (5) planning for all; (6) church-labor cooperation; (7) peace through justice. Attendance will be made up of clergymen — Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish; lay men and women; representatives of labor; and industrial workers. Further information concerning the conference may be secured by writing to the Religion and Labor Foundation, 106 Carmel Street, New Haven 11, Conn.

### ON THE POLITICAL FRONT

**FASCISM IN BRAZIL.** — With a long-time reputation as one of the most liberal of the Latin American republics, traditionally friendly to the United States, and a fighting member of the United Nations, Brazil today exhibits certain fascist tendencies and methods more advanced than those of Argentina. Particulars are given in an uncensored article by Roland Hall Sharp in the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR for June 3.

A free press, it is asserted, no longer exists in Brazil. The control exercised by government is absolute and complete. No foreign correspondent is free to report with even a moderate degree of objectivity. The mechanisms used are all that any fascist dictator could ask. The Department of Press and Propaganda or DTP occupies the government building used by the Chamber of Deputies before the Congress was dissolved by President Vargas in 1937. Under the rule of this agency Brazil's press lost long ago the battle for freedom that Argentina's two most independent daily papers — La Prensa and La Nacion — have recently been waging against the military rulers at Buenos Aires.

**CHECK THEIR RECORDS.** — Do you know how your representatives in Congress voted on the vital measures affecting foreign policy and domestic issues during the past two years? The NEW REPUBLIC in cooperation with the Union for Democratic Action rendered a signal service in compiling and issuing as a supplement to its May 8 issue, "A Congress to Win the War and the Peace". In it may be seen in chart form a complete analysis of House and Senate votes on eighteen of the important measures including, among others: Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act; Fulbright Resolution; Appropriation for UNRRA; Liquidation of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation; Overriding the Veto of the Smith-Connally Bill; Amendment to Hamstringing the TVA; Continuing the Loan Powers of FSA. America needs in the years ahead a great Congress. Men of ability, courage, and vision in the present Congress, the NEW REPUBLIC contends, "are outnumbered by petty men, who mistake ambition for capacity, bluster for work, blindness for vision, and passionate hatred for patriotism." It would be worth your while to check the voting records of your representatives.

**CONFUSION WORSE CONFOUNDED.** — When has the American political situation ever been more confused than now?



The Democratic party, which has given us most of our recent social legislation, now hopelessly divided, with the reactionary element apparently steadily gaining strength. The Republican party, its majority leadership more aggressively conservative than in the days of Coolidge, either blindly unaware or refusing to acknowledge the realities of the economic situation, turning a deaf ear to the liberal utterances of its titular head, Wendell Willkie. What F.D.R. was saying back in the years of deep depression in the name of the Democratic party Willkie is saying now — insisting that his party stand for broader social legislation and greatly increased social security: "Protection against old age, illness, and economic misfortune must be the right for every one. . . . Complete medical care should be available for all. . . . We should begin the moment the war is over to see that every child in America grows up with the basic necessities of education, good food, adequate clothing, medical care and a decent home. . . . The Republican party should see to it that they get them." Little wonder that many average voters baffled by the prevailing contradictions and with lessening confidence in political measures and men fail to exercise their right of franchise.

### ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT

"THE ETHICS OF ABUNDANCE". — There will be some results following the close of the war of which we can be as certain as it is possible to be certain about anything in the future.

To begin with, the world will be poor. It will be hungry. We may of course shrug our shoulders and say that in the long run the problem of poverty and hunger will settle itself. I am willing to concede for the sake of the argument that in the long run the problem may settle itself — though actually I do not believe that problems of this order ever "settle themselves"—but the situation at the close of the war will be for the short run.

The question will be, what are we to do now? How we act in that short run of a few years will determine what is to happen in the long run of the after years of centuries. *Impoverishment will be the widespread, almost universal fact at the close of the war.*

When I say that the world will be impoverished I do not mean merely that the world's food supplies will be short. I mean that the tools of industry and agriculture will be short, and that the destruction and loss of instruments will mean that the "short run" will be a season of terrible hardship. The standard of living in that short run will drop. Taking the world over the standard of living will not be far above what we have taken for granted as the lower limit of civilization.

The best way to deal with the postwar materialism of scarcity will be to move positively toward the social control of wealth, with the purpose of the increase of wealth as an economy of plenty, with the old orthodoxy of the sacredness of monopoly in private hands cast out as a thing accursed, with the deliberate aim and attempt at a wider distribution of material goods. Wealth as an end-in-itself is worthy all the blame that has been heaped on it. Wealth as an instrument for the attainment of the higher goods can never be praised enough.

If it is true that the majority of the human race have never since the beginning of history lain down to rest at night having known through the previous day the satisfaction of enough to eat, we have to conclude that the greatest failure in history up to the present has been that of inability so to master the resources of earth, as to make genuine human existence possible.—FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL.

### FOR SUMMER READING

*Democracy Reborn*, Henry A. Wallace. (Reynal and Hitchcock, New York, \$3.00). For forthright courageous speech on the basic social issues of our day few contemporary public men excel the Vice President. Not without result has he pored over the writings of the Hebrew prophets. Something of the fire of Amos burns in his bones. One can hear the echoes of the voice of the shepherd of Tekoa in such sentences as these: "I am referring to monopolistic practices on the part of some manufacturers; bankers, labor unions, doctors and farm organizations which serve their own welfare without regard to the welfare of the unorganized. . . . I don't say that each member of each of these groups deliberately practices scarcity economics. But enough of them do it so there is continually sand in the bearings of the economic machine . . . enough sand so that ten million families are continually living in poor houses without adequate clothing, without enough to eat." This latest of his numerous volumes contains the major addresses of recent years.

*The Great Transformation*, Karl Polanyi. (Farrar and Rinehart, New York, \$3.00). "A book good enough", says Stuart Chase, "to place on the special shelf with Berle and Means, E. H. Carr, Peter

Drucker, and James Burnham." It is the story of what the author terms "the market economy", another term for competitive capitalism, and its evaluation in terms of its social effects. Writing as a sociologist rather than as an economist Polanyi describes the dissolution of society by the Market, presenting a wealth of particulars. The domination of the Market is at an end. What now? Unfortunately the author does not have the answer.

*An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy*, Gunnar Myrdal. (Harper and Brothers, New York, 2 vols., \$7.50). Far from light reading, but indispensable to anyone who wants to plumb the depths of the Negro problem in relation to America's future. Probably the most objective and certainly the most comprehensive and thorough study thus far made. The author is a professor at the University of Stockholm and economic advisor to the Swedish government, brought to the United States by the Carnegie Corporation for the special purpose of directing the study. The Negro problem, Prof. Myrdal holds, "cannot be treated in isolation . . . it is an integral part of . . . the whole complex of problems in the larger American situation." There are some encouraging conclusions: for one, that race prejudice is on the whole gradually decreasing. Nevertheless the Negro remains today "America's great liability." There is yet a chance to make of him a great opportunity but if this is to be done the nation "has to do something big and do it soon."

*The Secret of Soviet Strength*, Hewlett Johnson. (International Publishers, New York, \$1.50). Easy and interesting reading is this second book from the pen of the Dean of Canterbury. A briefer and less thorough book than *The Soviet Power*, but based on more recent developments and supplementing the earlier book at a number of important points. It has abundant food for thought.

*The Resurrection of Christendom*, Joseph H. Oldham. (The Sheldon Press, London; The MacMillan Co., New York, \$3.50). Not a new book — published in Great Britain in 1940 — but little known in this country. A slight volume that can be read in an hour or two, it will bear re-reading once and again. The author is convinced that Christianity must experience a new birth as a purified and vitalized Christendom or completely lose its influence over society and describes briefly but succinctly what is involved in bringing the new Christendom to birth.

### DO YOU HAVE

*Survey of Literature on Postwar Reconstruction*, prepared by the Institute on Postwar Reconstruction, New York University. An analysis of current books and annotated bibliography on full employment, social security, and minimum living standards. Paper, \$1.00. Order from the Institute, 51 West 4th St., New York 3, N. Y.

### DIES ON DUTY IN NEW GUINEA

On May 10 word was received in Seattle of the death at Finschhafen, New Guinea, of the Rev. E. Raymond Attebery, pastor of Grace Methodist Church and for years member of the Executive Committee of M.F.S.S. He was a lieutenant colonel and chaplain. Death was caused by brain tumor. The deep sympathy of our members is extended to Mrs. Attebery, and the four children — the oldest of whom is serving as a paratrooper on the European front.

### APPRECIATION OF MRS. C. C. WEBBER

On May 31, 1944, Mrs. Webber, having seen the Federation through the period up to the Annual meeting at Kansas City in good financial condition, completed eight years of service with the organization. One year and a half of the eight years she spent as a full-time volunteer in the national office. She stood by the M.F.S.S. in every crisis during these years and much credit is due her that there is a Methodist Federation today.

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